

**The Madras Council and its relations with the
Golconda administration under Madanna
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The Editor of this Journal, in the course of a lengthy paper on "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers Madanna and Akkanna", presented to the 10th annual meeting of the Osmania University Historical Society and published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X; Part II, has explained the significance of Golconda's alliance with Sivaji which was a necessary preliminary to the latter's Karnatic expedition, and also the consequence of the accession of Madanna and Akkanna to dominance at the Sultan's Court. In connection with the latter topic, he indicated the importance of, and the motives underlying, the attitude of the local representatives of Golconda of whom Podili Lingappa was the most important, towards the English. An attempt is made in the following paper, at the suggestion of the Editor, to explain the significance of this attitude, so far as it can be gleaned from a study of the Madras records.

I

Sultan Abu'l Hasan of Golconda (1672-87) began his reign with Sayyad Muza'ffar Khan as his chief Minister, and with Musa Khan, Khan-i-Khanan as the Governor of the Golconda Karnatak, (i.e., all the coast country of the Coromandel roughly to the north of Madras). Musa Khan succeeded Nawab Nēk-nām Khan with whom the Madras Council had arrived at a definite, rather a quasi-definite, agreement as regarded the rent of the Fort and Town of Madras. The Fort St. George Consultation of the 25th April, 1672 (Sir William Langhorn, Governor) declares that "the Nawab Yecknam Cawn being deceased and Mussa Cawn chosen in his place, having sent us a confirmation of the agreement and *phirmaund*, made by and with his predecessor, with promise that he will be no less, nay more, a

friend to us than he was, and that he should look upon the *phirmaund* (farman), etc., as received not from Yecknam Cawn but himself." The Madras Council resolved, in the same consultation, to send presents worth 500 pagodas, in the shape of scarlet cloth, looking glasses and such like, by their Brahman agent Venkatapati, to the new Nawab on his accession to the Government of the Karnatac.

Later in the same year, it was entered in a Council consultation of the 20th October, that the captains and *havalgars* (from Arabic *Hawāla*=charge) in the Moors' camp before San Thomē caused great trouble and poisoned the mind of the Nawab against the English, "the Nawab being inexperienced in these parts" and too apt to give credit to the representations of his men and therefore it was resolved to give small *peshkashes* (Pers. *Pesh-kash*=first fruits, fines, taxes) to them, through their chief merchant, the famous—a rather well-known—character, Casa Verona. Similar presents were ordered to be given to the chief officers of the Nawab when they came to visit the English Governor in May, 1673. In March 1674, Sayyad Fatimeah, the Governor of Chingleput and the son of Sayyad Ibrahim who was a good friend of the English Company in his days, was sent for by the Sultan of Golconda, in order that he might marry the daughter of his (Sultan's) Chief Mufti, a person of great influence. The Madras Council thought it fit to make Sayyad Fatimeah a fitting and acceptable present, to the value of 130 pagodas, "to entertain that friendship of so long continuance and which of probability may be of good consequence to their affairs, he having promised to give the king (Sultan) a good account of all passages here to their vindication, from the many aspersions raised by the Dutch and others at the camp." (Consultation of 26th March, 1674) Sometime later, it was deemed necessary by the Council to proceed with great caution in the matter of the confirmation of their *phirmaund* by the Court, as "through the absence of Madanna, the Great Braminy from Golconda, being gone abroad into the country with the King, our Egyb's proceedings do not yet appear to be too far engaged." (Consultation of the 21st November, 1674)

II

Thus by the end of 1674, Madanna had become supreme at the court of Golconda, thus displacing Sayyad Muzaffar Khan as the chief minister. Akkanna took the place of Musa Khan as the Governor of the Karnatac about the same time. In Feb. 1675 (*vide* Consultation of the 10th), the council resolved to send up *pesh-*

cashes to their Egyb Venkatapati, to be presented to the Sultan, Madanna, "the great Bramany, who is the great Mogundar and the chiefest person in power, next the King himself," the Nawab Muskmia, Muhammad Ibrahim the new Sarkheil (*Sar-i-khel*=head of the clan, leader), Pulla Pella Yengana, (Polepalli Venkana), the chief Survey Wisse or Comptroller General, Narasa Viṭṭala and others of the great men—as "the King and all the great Crown Officers of this Kingdom of Golconda and Carnataca, having themselves long required that the Honourable Company should *peshcash* them upon his and their new greatness, as a right not to be avoided, and we having deferred it as long as we could with safety on promise to comply with them . . . and being continually pressed thereunto, with intimation that if we do not give satisfaction to them therein without any longer delay, that we should endanger the displeasure of his Highness and all the afore-said great Officers past recovery, and instead of their assistance (hitherto enjoyed in all these late troubles), be very much obstructed and disturbed on all occasions and pretences . . . and be in the end compelled to do it by force and much greater expense and disadvantage." The Madras Consultation of the 28th September 1675 gives an account of the ruin to the weaving industry and trade caused in divers places by the high-handed oppressions and extortions of the horsemen sent by Madanna and the Sultan, as a result of which many of the Company's merchants and their families were glad to run away amongst the woods and "by great *peshcashes*, save their money and their lives amongst the thieves themselves" and that the "woodmen and watchmen, being abused by Chinnapelle Mirza's extortions, by the King's order, broke out into hostilities against all the neighbouring countries . . . made no less a disorder amongst the weavers who were fain to desert Bijapuri control for shelter . . . "

III

In February 1676, Pollepalle Venganna, who was in charge of the neighbourhood of Madras, put forward a claim to sell paddy coming from the territory of Golconda, free of custom in Madras, at their own rates, as in their own territories, and to reimpose a *havaladar* saying "the King (Abdullah Kutb Shah. *d* 1672) and Nawab (Nēknām Khan) who granted the *cowle* and *phirmaund* are dead and gone, and this King (Abu'l Hasan) not obliged, as if himself had not confirmed it and received the money"; while the Dutch who were not able to get a similar *cowle* for their settlement at Pulicat, did all they could to infringe ours. But even in

the previous year Podili Lingapa, the nephew of Akkanna and Madanna, who was appointed to be the *tarafdar* and Governor of the Poonamalle district, had procured (according to a Consultation entry, dated the 16th and 17th March, 1675) a *phirmaund* and *tasheriff* (Arabic *tashrif* = honouring) from the Sultan to the Madras Governor and Agent, "merely to extort a pishcash, as he has from the Dutch at Paliacat, to the value of 800 pagodas." Upon this, the Madras Council resolved to send their chief merchant, Casa Verona, to meet Lingapa at Trivetour (Tiruvot-tiyur) . . . to acquaint him that we cannot accept thereof to the prejudice of the Honourable Company's *cowle* (*paṭṭa*, agreement) and *phirmaund*, which exempts us from having to do with any but the Divan itself, and that the Agent write up presently to our Egyb Vencataputty to prevent misinformation and to get a strict order to the said Tarafdar to observe the said *cowle* and *phirmaund* and *sallabad* (*Sāl+ābād*=permanent charge) in all things representing to his Highness and to Madana, etc., the prejudice which will otherwise ensue to the King's revenue, should they be any ways disturbed."

As Dr. S. K. Aiyangar remarks, with the coming of Podili Lingapa, there was a stiffening in the administration and the relation between the Madras Council and the Tarafdar of Poonamallee became more or less one of continued hostility. From a quotation in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Vol I p. 356) we learn more fully about this change of position. An extract from the proceedings of the Madras Council containing what Casa Verona heard from the Sultan's Mazumdar of Armagaon about Lingapa's attitude towards the Madras Council (given on pp 90-91 of the *Records of Fort St. George—Diary and Consultation Book of 1672-78*), is informing. Podili Lingapa was given a horse and other presents when he paid a visit to the Dutch towns of Pulicat and Sadras and when he carried a *tasheriff* to the English, they would not accept it, nor would (they) invite him to their town, but gave the messenger who carried their *phirmaund* petty gifts. Polepalle Venganna concurred with him that the English were a scornful people and that Nēknām Khan was ill-advised and foolish in letting them away with a paltry rent of 1,200 pagodas per annum. He further urged that Lingapa should keep a *havaladar* in Madras and the *cowle* of Neknam Khan ended with him and that he would go to the Sultan and prevail on him "to send a Persian to be over Chinnapatnam." The Sultan himself is said to have postponed an order on the matter till his return from Masulipatam towards which he was going and his courtiers advised him to take some definite action in the affair.

IV

The stiffened attitude of the Golconda government coincided with the establishment of Brahman dominance at the court and of Brahman control over the Poonamalle country, and also with the arrival at a sort of understanding between the Golconda government and Shivaji that was the preliminary for the latter's famous Karnatac expedition. It is doubtful, according to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, whether "the change was brought about as a normal consequence of the change of ministry or had something to do with the agreement between Shivaji and Abu'l Hasan's administration."

The Madras Council was strong in its view that the Brahman dominance in the Golconda government was inconsiderate towards itself and insatiably avaricious. This view is supported by Manucci who gives an instance of the intolerance of Madanna in Golconda (vide p. 31 of Irvine's Translation of the *Storia do Mogor* (Indian Texts Series) Vol III; and also *Ma'as'ir-i-Alamgiri*, 227; 272). In December 1676, the Madras Council complained of the Brahman officials of Golconda "who have been studying to do all the prejudices they can and to cavil at the said cowle, labouring to bring this their place (Madras) into the same condition as Palacat and to force it to receive the King's paddy at his own extorsive rates; as a beginning of evils more to follow." The Council was anxious to obtain a new royal confirmation of the cowle by the Sultan's own express *phurmaund* (firman) and also a ready access to the throne for its own agent on all occasions of complaints, "whereof", the resolution ran, "we are sensible of a great want since his father's (Abdulla Kutb Shah's—who was the father-in-law of Abu'l Hasan, who was of low origin according to Fryer, but said by others to be descended on his father's side from the Kutb Shahi family itself) decease and Madanna's new greatness". (Vide Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* translation by W. Irvine, Vol. IV p. 444). The same consultation continues that the annual rent due for 1676-77 be sent to the agent of the Madras Council at Golconda, the Bramany Yeana Viraraghava to be paid to Nawab Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim (the Sar-i-Khel) and get good acquittances from him for the past and present, and also to engage the said Nawab to give his protection to the Company's business as against the mischief wrought by Lingapa and his master Polepellu Venganna, who were Madanna's creatures. Podili Lingapa had strengthened his hold over the whole country "hereabout from Armagaon to the borders of (the) Bijapur (Karnatac); he desired to force

the English to purchase only his paddy at exorbitant rates and likewise to extort from them a loan of 10,000 pagodas upon the neighbouring revenues of paddy, "which, formerly being a very sure assignation, as these juggling Brahminys contrive it, is now grown a mere cheat, for by removing the person who took the money, they avoid the obligation, and put folks to seek for their money where they can get it." Nevertheless the English Council resolved in January 1677, a peshcash valued at 30 pagodas, to Lingapa and one of smaller value to the Brahman agent of Akkanna.

V

In May 1677, Sivaji was almost upon them. On the 9th the Council heard that Sivaji, having been entertained in the King of Golconda's service, was in full march upon Gingee with 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, the vanguard of which had already passed Kālahasti and Tirupati and was expected that night at Conjeevaram. In a consultation of the 14th May, the Council received a letter and messenger from Sivaji requesting some "cordial stones and counter-poisons" and sent him these, along with some broad cloth and a quantity of sandalwood. Sivaji did nothing in the Golconda portion of the Karnatac, in a military sense, and only when he passed into the Gingee territory that was under Bijapur, did he begin serious military operations. The comparative inaction of Sivaji in the neighbourhood of Madras and the consequent immunity that the English Presidency enjoyed were the result of an understanding that had been come to between Sivaji and the Golconda administration, and that was possibly deemed by the astute Madanna as "the best course of action to be adopted in the circumstances, both as against the advancing tide of Mughal aggression, and as the best safeguard for the preservation of what was worth preserving, the Hindu India of the South". Golconda agreed to provide Sivaji with a subsidy of 3,000 huns a day and also with an army of 5,000 men and a park of artillery in which branch of equipment the Maratha invader was weak. In return Sivaji was to give to Golconda such parts of his Karnatac conquests as did not belong to his father Shahji. Thus we can easily comprehend the reason for the vigour and rapidity with which Sivaji overran the Gingee country, which was under Bijapur and drove off Sher Khan Lodi into the forests of Ariyalūr on the banks of the Coleroon.

In June 1677 when Sivaji had just begun the long-drawn siege of Vellore, he wrote to Madras desiring a further supply of

cordials and counterpoisons; and we are informed by the consultation dated 18th June, that his (Sivaji's) power was increasing and he exercised so much power in the country of the Golconda Sultan that he sent all about to receive the King's rents by his own people and was punishing the *havalgars* and other great men of the country at his pleasure.

When in October a letter from Sivaji reached Madras in which he desired the English to supply him with engineers required for the effective prosecution of the siege of Vellore, the Council resolved to send him a civil excuse, saying that the affair was "wholly unfit for us to meddle in it, there being many dangers consequent thereon as well of increasing his (Sivaji's) power as of rendering both Golconda and the Mogull our enemies, all these parts being spread with his spies, and himself and army now come nearer this way, within two days' march of this place (Madras)".

VI

Meanwhile the bickerings between the Sultan's renter for the Poonamallee country and the English Council at Madras over the right of the former to compel the latter to take off his own paddy at his own rates continued. The renter threatened the English in February 1679 that if they forbid Poonamallee corn to be sold in Madras, he would stop wood and all other provisions from coming to them. When a remonstrance on this matter was addressed to Lingapa who had his headquarters at Conjeevaram, he returned answer that there being much of corn at Poonamallee to be sold, and the Sultan's necessity being urgent, he would take off the stop, if the Council would furnish him 7,000 pagodas to supply the want (Consultation of the 11th February, 1678).

Governor Streyntsham Master was anxious to get the support of the Muhammadan officers of Golconda; he took care to send the annual town rent due for Madras for 1677-78, to Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, at Golconda itself and to convince the Nawab that Lingapa's report that the English at Madras were building a great bulwark was false, but that they were only repairing an old ruined bulwark. He also planned to send the chief and Council of Madapollam to procure if possible, from the Sultan during his forthcoming visit to Masulipatam, (1) a *farman* granting the right for the English to coin silver rupees and copper pice at Madras, the said coins to pass current in all the King's dominions; (2) a *farman* granting the exemption of English goods and trade in the Karnatac and adjacent regions from the *junkan* (Sun-

kam = toll) and other customs and duties as they were at Masulipatam; (3) the getting of Verasheroone or Madapollam or both of them settled on the English as rent-free grants, or on a fixed unalterable rent which was to be paid only to the Diwan (*Vide* Consultation of the 23rd May, 1678). The English Council subsequently advised the Madapollam Chief and Council to persuade the Sultan to grant Tiruvottiyūr, Egmore and San Thome in the neighbourhood of Madras, either rent-free or at moderate rents which should not be increased at all in future. They were prepared, in the case of San Thome, which they had been long coveting, to pay 1,300 pagodas per annum, as Casa Verona was then paying for it (Consultation of June 3rd, 1678).

The Sultan's *Sar-i-Khel*, Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, was disposed to be friendly to the English and sent a tasheriff congratulating Governor Master on his accession to his office. The Sultan however was unable to proceed to Masulipatam owing to the oppressive heat and the scarcity of water prevailing on the route. The visit was postponed till after the rainy season of the year should have passed away.

VII

In August, 1678, news was received that a body of Sivaji's horse under the command of Santojee, appeared at Conjeevaram and that it was likely it would proceed further towards Madras and would take Poonamalle castle, that Vellore had surrendered and that Sivaji had now full and quiet possession of all the countries of Gingee and Vellore. The English Council feared that Sivaji would now turn his attention to the Golconda Karnatac. In the beginning of September, Podih Lingappa paid a condolence visit to Casa Verona, on the death of the latter's wife, when he urged that he should be given very valuable presents and a Persian horse by the English, that he had received a new *farman* from the Sultan giving him supreme control over all the Golconda forces in these parts and that Governor Master should not regard himself in any way as his equal. Lingappa's importunate demands were repeated in September when he requisitioned for 10 and got 2 *candies* of gunpowder to be used in subduing the jungle chiefs (*poligars*). Madras had to welcome the *Habshi* general of Bijapur, Abdulla Khan, who surrendered Vellore to Sivaji upon certain conditions, but later thought it safe for himself not to trust to Maratha protection and sought refuge with the English Governor. A letter was received from the English agent at Golconda that Sivaji had ordered his men at Gingee to take a fit opportu-

nity to plunder Madras, Pulicat and Sadraspatam. But the news proved baseless; and it was learnt that the Marathas had retired from the neighbourhood of Gingee towards Mysore whose ruler had been very formidable to the Marathas on his border; this was greatly to the relief of the English, who however, continued to be pestered by Lingappa's demands for presents which extended even to Casa Verona and the Pedda Naik of Madras.

VIII

In the beginning of 1679 the Madras Council became eager to get some good return for their payments and gifts to the Sultan and the great men with him. A letter was written on the 6th February to the Brahman *Egyb* at Golconda, urging him to, endeavour to recover something in lieu of the presents given to the Sultan and to Madanna at Masulipatam during their late visit, when the Chief and Council of Masulipatam could not manage their request as was ordered by the Madras Council. The *Egyb* was asked to persuade Madanna and Akkanna to influence the Sultan to grant gratis the towns of San Thome and Egmore to the English Company, "since the English by their ancient, faithful and peaceable demeanour towards and profitableness to the Divan and his country, have not deserved less, but more favours from him than the Dutch or any other nation residing in his Highness's dominions and it is not for the Divan's honour to do so much for one and nothing for the other . . ." (p. 4 of *Madras Records—Letters from Fort St George 1679*).

To this, the *Egyb* replied that he had an interview with Madanna, the prime minister, who informed him that the Dutch had given their promised present of 6,000 pagodas, and the English had not given theirs of 3,000 pagodas, and when they should do so, he would then begin negotiations concerning the renting of San Thome and Egmore, and obtain the Sultan's permission therefor (*vide* the minutes of a consultation of the Madras Council on the 17th February, 1679). Troubles continued about Lingappa's demand that paddy from his *taraf* (division) should be sold in the market of Madras at his rate and the allegation that the customs raised by the English had increased, thus justifying a demand for a higher rent. To this, Governor Master made the bold reply—"The market of Madraspatam was free to all people to buy and sell in, but if men were content to sell at 12 *kalams* (measures) for a pagoda which was now the market price, no man could force them to sell at 10: and if it should please God to make it dearer or cheaper, it was not in the power of man to alter what

God Almighty had decreed.” (p. 18 of the *Madras Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80*) The English Council resolved to resist by force, if necessary, the order made by Lingappa that the citizens of Madras should come and buy only the grain that had been collected at Vepery and Egmore (adjoining the confines of the English settlement) and that no other paddy should be suffered to come into the city.

While this bold face was put up before Lingappa, the Council was anxious to get a *cowle* and *farman* from the Sultan for the places (San Thome, Egmore and Tiruvottiyūr) that they were eager to acquire and instructed their *Egyb* at Golconda that he should “procure the said *phurmaund* (farman) and *coull* (cowl) written very exactly and punctually in all matters and particulars as therein mentioned.” They also enclosed a copy of the *farman* that would satisfy them in which they specified by name the six villages dependent on San Thome, the six hamlets belonging to Tiruvottiyūr and the nine villages adjacent to Egmore; and they stipulated that the places should be permanently rented under them and they should have the right to build factories, godowns, etc., in them, to exercise jurisdiction in all causes, both civil and criminal, therein and to be exempt from the former usual customs, *junkan* or other duties

IX

The higgling over the fixing of the rent for San Thome and its dependent villages was prolonged, as is clearly indicated in the letters to Bramany Viraraghava sent from Madras in the months March to June, 1679. It was feared that the French had a design of securing San Thome for themselves; and Casa Verona instructed Podili Lingappa, before he proceeded to Golconda to settle accounts, to use all possible means to prevent the French coming to that place again. The fruit of this was that Lingappa took possession of San Thome himself on the 17th August, 1679, apparently after his return from Golconda, farming it out of Verona's hands; and the latter endeavoured, in his turn, to wrest San Thomē from Lingappa, as, according to the consultation of the 25th August, he was anxious “to prevent the inconveniences that may accrue to the revenues of this town (Madras) by the stoppage of goods, grain and the calico investment this year”.

Lingapa tried hard to improve upon the advantage he had secured and made a “malicious” request to Braminy Akkanna Pantulu to obtain a grant from his Highness for us (the English) to pay him our Town's (Madras') rent merely to encroach

upon us by degrees" (p. 41—*Letters from Fort St. George 1679*). Akkanna was requested not to countenance Lingappa's request for getting the rent of Madras for himself. It continues:—"We hope that your lordship (Akkanna) as a just and upright person under him (the Sultan) will never countenance (*him*) that desires such unjust things as the said Lingappa would persuade you merely to act his ill designs and (malice) he bears towards us." The letter also urged that Verona had a *farman* from the Sultan and a *Rakka* (Arab. Ruk'a = letter, note of hand) from Madanna (your worthy brother) and that Akkanna would use all his endeavours to put San Thome again into Verona's hands. Apparently these protestations and appeals to Akkanna had the desired effect, and in October the Brahmin Viraraghava was able to report from Golconda that there was great hope of San Thome being returned to Verona (Consultation, entry for Monday, the 3rd November, 1679). The *Egyb* was congratulated in a letter, dated Fort St. George, 26th November, that "you have done well in preventing granting Lingappa's malicious desire, to obtain our Town's (Madras') rent to be paid unto him, though we are resolved never to yield thereto" and "we have been glad to hear of what you have done in Casa Verona's request to Braminy Madanna and Akkanna concerning San Thome and hope that Lingappa upon arriving at these parts, will not offer to violate their express orders."

X

Casa Verona died on the 28th March, 1680; and certainly the death of one who was a strong champion of the English cause as against the pretensions of the Golconda officials was a serious loss to the Madras Governor and Council. The imposition of a *havaladar* on the town of Madras was attempted in May following on the strength of an order purporting to come from Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim on the ground that "the towne produced more than formerly, and Verona the *Dubass* (Dubash) being dead, therefore it should no longer be under the English, but kept under the King's hands and that Futtu Cawn (at Chingleput) should send a *havaladar* to take the government thereof." Master had to send three files of soldiers and bring the pretender of a *havaladar* into the Fort and sent him back after an examination. Nor were the English less cautious on their side than the situation warranted.

The Council resolved at a consultation on the 3rd of June that "the revenue of the Towne may not be known to the Moors

as they desire, it is thought good and ordered that the accounts thereof and especially of the customs upon goods exported and imported by sea shall be only kept in English, and the *Braminys*, *cancoplys*, etc., are not to keep any books or accounts thereof in writing, which the customer is to see observed and act accordingly".

Podili Lingappa was not peculiar in his attitude towards the English alone. He was equally stiff in his demands as against the Dutch; and it may be said of him that "the rights of the question were not altogether all of them on one side, and they got complicated by the steps and counter-steps adopted, and on the whole it cannot be well maintained that Lingappa was doing anything that was not in the interests of the Golconda administration." (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in *J. I. H.* Vol. X Part II *Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers Madanna and Akkanna*). It was reported at Madras towards the end of August 1680, that Lingappa had put a stop to all the Dutch business at Pulicat forbidding their merchants to buy or carry any cloth thither. He followed it up by imposing a similar embargo on Madras from the 1st of September, in the matter of the bringing in of cloth—the prohibition being alleged to be on the ground that the Governor refused to admit the *havaladar* that was sent by the order of the Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim. Lingappa sent word that Verona used to lend him large sums periodically and besides gave him annual presents "which he knew not of whom to have these advantages;" whereupon the Chief Merchants of the Company agreed to send two of their number to Lingappa to treat with him as to the removal of the embargo.

Upon the embargo continuing for some time, the Madras Council resolved to make an application direct to the Golconda court for redress and addressed letters to the Sultan and to Madanna (Consultation of the 13th September, 1680). Lingappa maintained that he did not begin the embargo without orders from his masters and that he would expect from whoever should be the successor to Verona, 2,000 pagodas and loans without interest for his Diwan. The month of September passed without anything being done at Golconda, where Nawab Ibrahim merely put off the *Egyb* of Madras with excuses and delays. What was worse, Lingappa sent orders to stop *chunam* (lime-shell) and brick from coming into Madras (Consultation of the 26th September). It was only in the beginning of November that letters were received from Golconda with *Rukkas* of the Nawab, Madanna

and Akkanna upon Lingappa, ordering him not to stop goods going into Madras, nor to hinder the business of the English in any manner. Lingappa was forced thus to stop his embargo; but he was in close communication—one might say, collusion—with a number of painters (of the Company's cloth) and other disaffected persons who deserted over from Madras to San Thome and countenanced them in stopping the goods and corn from being brought into town. In spite of Lingappa's orders, the customs-officers of the Golconda government continued to obstruct English trade and to prevent the free entry of cloth and other goods into the settlement. A further offence was alleged by Lingappa when a messenger of his bearing a farman from Golconda was not received by the Governor in proper form, and consequently he had orders from court to stop again goods and provisions coming into the town. He added to this a threat that he would stop all manner of trade and provisions and destroy the town and bring it to the same pass as San Thome (Consultations of the 27th December 1680 and of 3rd January 1681—pp. 87 and 89 of *The Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St George for 1680-81*). These persistent threats so worked upon the Council that it was resolved on the 6th of January to settle a factory in the Gingee country "which is out of the Golconda dominions, which is a matter of great security to the Company's investments and one of the main reasons why the Dutch keep so many factories upon this coast, which, being divided into several governments, if they be obstructed in their business by one governor, they have another place to friend, and besides this advantage of preventing Lingappa or any other Subahdar of this country from being capable of spoiling all our business when it depends wholly upon their courtesy."

XI

Akkanna, the minister of Golconda planned to go down to the Poonamalle country to settle the disputes outstanding with the Madras Council himself; and Lingappa wrote to say that he had ordered the village of Triplicane (which had already been given to the Company) to be taken over by the *havildar* of San Thome and would bring it under Poonamalle "threatening much what will be done to us upon Akkanna's coming down, who is now on the way" (Entry in the consultation for the 28th February 1681). Fortunately for the English, Akkanna turned back towards Golconda from Tirupati without marching further; and Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim wrote to Madras to say that he had abandoned all thoughts of raising the rent of Madras.

But Lingappa was not to be stopped from his course of action. He reestablished an embargo on provisions etc., going into Madras, forbidding the country people to do so and setting watchmen to stop them. All that Governor Master could do was to assure the people of San Thome, Egmore and other villages that if Lingappa abused them and prevented them from sending in provisions, they might retire into Madras and should be protected there. Lingappa however sent word on the 14th of April, by his Diwan, that he had an order from Akkanna to besiege Madras and Pulicat, because the Governors of these two places would not do as they were ordered by the Diwan of the Sultan and also because no Madras official met Akkanna at Tirupati and of other reasons (minutes of the Council of the 15th and 16th April, 1681)

The embargo continued upon all goods and provisions coming into Madras throughout May. In June the Madras Council resolved (see consultation of the 6th June) to send 2,000 pagodas as a sort of peace-offering to Akkanna, through Nazar Beg (the Sultan's jeweller) who was deemed to have great interest with the minister. Also it was at last resolved that "Podili Lingappa have a present sent to him to the value of pagodas 300, notwithstanding the Egyb at Golconda acquaints Mr Master our troubles may be composed for pagodas 2,000: there; yet Lingappa being a person that has of late an unlimited power granted him in the countries adjacent to us and judging that of necessity something must be given him whatever is given at court, it was therefore thought convenient to compliment him with this *peshkash*. . .", and a letter from the Governor was sent by Pedda Venkatadri (one of the Chief Merchants of the Company, who was a friend of the Tarafdar) who also was ordered to have discourse with Lingappa that "we might have a friendly understanding between us" (Consultation of the 20th July, 1681—pp. 39-40 of *Diary and consultation Book 1681*).

XII

On August 1st, the Governor was able to inform the Council that all differences with Lingappa were happily concluded. One peculiar result of this was that the Brahman Viraraghaviah, who was the English Company's Egyb at Golconda, and had been dismissed recently from his place, being replaced by one Guru-vappa, *alias* Henriques Midao, was reentertained in consideration of his former good service, and what is noteworthy, because "we look upon the present Egyb Grua to be a man unfit for that

employ as being given to drink, and so not admitted to manage any affairs with the Bramanys who now govern all (in Golconda)." (Consultation of the 6th of October). Lingappa continued to give pin-pricks to the Madras Council even after the present was resolved upon.

XIII.

Lingappa's relations with the English hinged, on, among other claims, the right to receive the rent from Fort St. George which ought to be paid only through him and that the English Council should have no transactions or correspondence, directly with the Sultan or his ministers. In the *Letters to Fort St George* for 1682, we find on page 8, a mild request from Lingappa to Governor Gyfford that the rent for the current year, or at least half of it, might be sent up to him. In another letter, received at Fort St. George on the 1st March, he wrote: "their Lordships Madanna and Akkanna have once before sent *tashrif*s to your worship through my hands." The English Company's agent at Golconda, in his letter of the 21st January, informed Gyfford that "Podili Lingappa being a great person in these parts, he would have been something grieved, if the *tashrif*s (to the Governor and Pedda Venkatadri) had not been first sent to him, before they had been conveyed to your Worship's hands, therefore Bramny Akkanna ordered the *tashrif*s to be carried to Lingappa, and there to take one of his people together with the Diwan's *nobut* to come with the *tashrif*s." (p. 16, of *Letters to Fort St. George* for 1682) In spite of the Company's agent's arguments to the contrary, the ministers, Madanna and Akkanna, maintained that Chénnapatnam (Madras) and all other affairs of those parts should be of Lingappa's side." The agent however feared that "if we should pay the rent money but one year to Lingappa, he will contrive many ways to bring us into such a labyrinth of troubles that we shall not be able to get out of it." Akkanna himself advised Governor Gyfford that he should "hear Lingappa with credulity in whatsoever business he shall acquaint you about and to get him to write to us when you would have any business to be done here (at headquarters), for the more you oblige Lingappa to write in your behalf, the readier shall we be to favour you." The meaning of this was too plain to be misunderstood and showed how Lingappa had contrived to get all his demands recognised as just and lawful, in the matter of having undisputed and sole authority over the European settlements in his jurisdiction.

XIV

Lingappa's further attempts to strengthen his position need not be here elaborated. One of the features of his administration was to demand and enforce all the payments due to the Golconda Government strictly and stoutly. These covered all presents which had to be given to himself by convention and also to the great men at headquarters. It is this grasping character of the administration that elicited the suggestion conveyed in the Company's Golconda agent's letter of the 3rd March, 1682, *viz*: "The people in place here now are not like their predecessors, for all the officers are Braminies and when anybody goes to them about business, they immediately open their hands. . . ." Whatever might be said of the grasping avarice of Madanna and Akkanna and Lingappa and other Brahmins in power, there can be no doubt that Golconda's control was stiffened in the Karnatac and even the European settlements in a manner that was not possible in the previous times.

XV

Lingappa soon came to occupy the supreme position in the Golconda Karnatac, analogous to that which was enjoyed by Mir Jumla in one sense and certainly equally good with, or even better than, that of Nawab Nēknām Khan. From the position of the Tarafdar of Poonamalle, he became the Governor of the Karnatac, in succession to Akkanna. His attitude as the champion and defender of Golconda's rights was one of great value; because, as was pointed out by Dr S. K. Aiyangar, he claimed to have taken the town of Chikkanayakanhalli, in the subah of Sira, probably from the hands of the Marathas, after the death of Sivaji, and thus he vindicated his master's cause even against the Marathas who were strong and, besides, the quondam allies of Golconda. The receipt of presents and even the demanding of them should not be taken as a vice peculiar to Lingappa or the Brahman officials of Golconda. It was a commonly prevalent practice at the time and tainted as much the European settlements and their doings, in the epoch. The promotion of Lingappa to the supreme governorship of the Karnatac was consequent upon the transfer of Akkanna to the *Sar Lashkar's* (lit head of the army) post from which the Sultan dismissed Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, consequent upon his weakness in losing the town of Basavapatan to the troops of the ruler of Ikkeri. Thus Lingappa got the Government of all the country from the Krishna

river in the north as far as all the Karnatac country, as Nawab Nēknām Khan was formerly ruling (The Egyb's letter dated Golconda 17th May, quoted in p. 39 of *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682). The English Company was advised to keep an Egyb at Lingappa's head-quarters, as all the Egybs were gone to him. It was also made known by their Golconda agent that the ministry had positively prohibited any direct petition to them being made and ordered that every one should apply first to Lingappa, "for without his consent no request would be heard here (Golconda)" (Letter of the Company's agent, Viraraghavayya, dated 2nd August, 1682).

Lingappa had now the command of all the forces belonging to the Karnatac, and he demanded from the English, the service of 15 gunners to manage his guns. He also arranged for ships to be built on behalf of Akkanna who wrote, on the 28th August, to Gyfford that "your worship may please to look upon Lingappa as myself." Akkanna was at that time practically the dominant factor in the Golconda Government, as the Egyb wrote: "Now Braminy Akkanna is made the chief person who manages the whole affairs of the Kingdom. for whosoever goeth to speak about any business to Madanna, he sends to his Akkanna." (p. 94 of *Letters to Fort St George*, 1682). Akkanna even told the Company's Egyb that the *Sar Lashkarship* was given to Lingappa. The latter designed "to bring the English as much under his command as the rest of the country people and effectively poisoned the mind of Akkanna against them. He even threatened that he would take measures to extort 60 or 70 thousand pagodas from the English as soon as he should have done with the Mysore people (referring to his capture of Chikkanayakanhalli, as noticed in Viraraghava's letter of October 27th, 1682). In 1685 Lingappa was addressed as his Excellency. He took vigorous measures with an interloper, a Jew named Rodrigez who was given permission to live in Madras and ordered his goods at San Thome not to be released and given to him (Letter dated March 16th, 1685, from the Brahmans Narayanappa and Sangana at Conjeevaram—pp 61-2, of *Letters to Fort St George*, 1684-85). He took measures to recover seven pieces of timber that had floated to the shore on the San Thomē coast and that had been seized by the English Governor, and his lieutenants thus threatened Gyfford: "Your Honour knows Lingappa's disposition; so soon as you see the letter, Your Honour may please to send the timbers and goods . . . before Lingappa hath intelligence of it, and then you may live without trouble." (Letter dated 15th July, 1685).

XVI

Lingappa was turned out of his post before the beginning of 1686, and shortly afterwards quitted this world. Governor Elihu Yale recorded in the minutes of a consultation, dated 22nd December, 1687 (p. 200 of, the *Diary and Consultation Book*, 1687) that "Lingappa, late Sar Lashkar of this country, having often endeavoured to put a havaldar upon this Town (Madras) and to impose a custom for the diwan, but being successful therein, he, about three years past orders the building of a *banksall* within a mile of the Fort (at the Great Metta or Periamet) intending there to stop all grain and other goods to pay them Junkan before they would permit them to come into Town, but Lingappa happily leaving this world, before the finishing his ill design on the *banksall* the Governor privately treated with the havaldar of Poonamalle about buying the said building of him." So let us leave the spirit of the strong-willed Lingappa who had been such a source of trouble to Governors Langhorn, Streynsham Master and Gyfford, still continuing to haunt the pages of Governor Yale's proceedings. The tragic end of Akkanna and Madanna which preceded so closely the fall of Golconda and the deposition of Abu'l Hasan by the Great Mughal and which was so little deserved by them, brought the last vigorous flicker of a dying administration to a close in the midst of foreign conquest and the consequent increase in anarchy.